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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

N. H. ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

HELD IN CONCORD,

ON THE 11th & 12th OF NOVEMBER, 1834.

CONCORD, N. H.

EASTMAN, WEBSTER & CO.—PRINTERS

1834.

C 113.
In pursuance of a resolution adopted by the Concord Anti-Slavery Society, at its meeting on the 30th of September, 1834, a Committee was appointed to correspond with the several Anti-Slavery Societies in this State, and with the friends of Abolition generally, on the expediency of calling a Deliberative Convention, to afford opportunity for mutual interchange of views and feelings in relation to the great objects of our Association, and to adopt such measures for co-operating with the friends of civil liberty and equal rights throughout the country as may be judged best calculated to effect these objects; and authorizing the Committee, with the approbation of other Societies to call said Convention at such time and place as they may deem expedient.

Thus authorized, the Committee, having communicated the above resolution to all the Anti-Slavery Societies known to exist in the State, caused the following notice to be published in several Newspapers, and copies of it to be sent to George Thompson, Esq. the distinguished philanthropist from London, now on a visit to this country, and to several individuals in this and the neighboring States friendly to the cause of Emancipation.

NOTICE OF THE COMMITTEE.

In conformity with the above resolution, the undersigned invite the Anti-Slavery Societies in New-Hampshire by their Delegates, and all other persons who believe that *holding our fellow men in bondage is a sin that should be* IMMEDIATELY ABANDONED, to meet in Convention at Concord, Tuesday, Nov. 11, 1834, for the general purposes expressed in the foregoing Resolve, and to unite in fervent prayer to Almighty God to bless our efforts for the speedy abolition of Slavery throughout our land. And as we expect to effect our object only by moral means,—by the exhibition of truth to the understanding, we would not shun investigation, and are willing our opinions and principles should be examined; we therefore cordially invite ALL who feel an interest in the great subject of American slavery, to meet with us and participate in the discussions.

Delegates and members of Anti-Slavery Societies will meet at the Town Hall at 9 o'clock for the transaction of business. The public exercises of the Convention will commence with a sermon at the Rev. Mr. Bouton's meetinghouse at half past ten.

EDMUND WORTH,	JOHN FARMER,
THOMAS CHADBOURNE,	MOSES G. THOMAS,
GEORGE STORRS,	EBENEZER E. CUMMINGS,
	ALBE CADY.

The following gentlemen having duly considered the subject of the Convention, as recommended by the Concord Anti-Slavery Society, cordially unite with the Committee in the above invitation.

REV. DAVID STOWELL,	REV. WALTER HARRIS, D.D.
REV. JOHN M. WHITON,	REV. RUFUS PUTMAN,
REV. E. B. BRADFORD,	REV. JARED PERKINS,
REV. AUSTIN RICHARDS,	REV. ABEL MANNING,
REV. ALVIN CUTLER,	REV. DAVID ROOT,
REV. J. M. PUTNAM,	REV. JONATHAN CURTIS.

PROCEEDINGS.

Agreeably to the foregoing notice, a meeting of gentlemen from different parts of the State was held at the Town Hall, on Tuesday the 12th of Nov. 1834. Rev. Mr. Root, was called to the chair, and Rev. Mr. Worth, chosen secretary. Prayer was then offered by Rev. Mr. Storrs of Concord.

A committee, consisting of Rev. Mr. Storrs and Dr. Chadbourne, was appointed to examine the credentials of persons appointed to attend the Convention, and report their names.

It was voted, also, that all members of Anti-Slavery Societies, present, and those, who consider slavery a sin and that it ought to be immediately abolished, be requested to enter their names as members of this convention according to the first invitation in the notice calling this meeting; and, that all others participate in the discussions, according to the second invitation in said notice. The committee reported the following names of gentlemen, as composing the convention.

DELEGATES TO THE CONVENTION.

Bedford, Rev. Sam. Abbott, Sam. W. Abbott.

Chichester, Rev. Rufus A. Putnam.

Campton, Davis Baker, John Clark.

Concord, Rev. Edmund Worth, Rev. George Storrs, Rev. N. Bouton, Benj. Diamond, Amos Wood, George Porter, Nathaniel Abbott, Albe Cadby, John B. Chandier, Thomas Chadbourne, Edmund S. Chadwick, Geo. Kent, John Farmer.

Dover, Rev. Jared Perkins, Rev. David Root.

Dunbarton, John Mills, Rev. J. M. Putnam, David Alexander, John Cavis.

Goffstown, Rev. David Stowell.

Gilford, D. E. Jewett.

Londonderry, F. D. Anderson.

Loudon, William Chamberlain.

Pittsfield, Rev. Jona. Curtis.

Plymouth, Henry C. Green, Austin George, Noah C. Cummings, Geo. W. Ward.

Windham, David Campbell, Rev. Calvin Cutler, Samuel Anderson.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

The following gentlemen accepted the invitation as above and entered their names as corresponding members:

Rev. Amos A. Phelps, agent of the Am. Anti-Slavery Society, Boston.

Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, delegate from the Essex co. Ms. A. S. Society, Salem

Mr. J. Merriam, Topsfield, Ms.

Rev. Wm. S. Porter, Cor. Sec. Young Men's A. S. S. Boston.

Mr. B. C. Bacon, Sec. and agent of the N. E. Anti-Slavery Soc. Boston.

Rev. Asa Rand, Lowell. Mr. Nath'l Thurston, Lowell.

Mr. George Thompson, from England.

The following gentlemen were chosen a committee to nominate a list of officers for the Convention; Rev. J. M. Putnam, Rev. Mr. Stowell and Messrs. Chadbourne, Ward, Alexander, Abbott and Chandler.

The committee reported and the following were chosen as

OFFICERS OF THE CONVENTION.

Rev. David Root, Dover, President.

Col. Davis Baker, Campton, Dr. T. Chadbourne, Concord, Vice Presidents.

Rev. E. Worth, and Dea. J. B. Chandler, Concord, Secretaries.

Appointed, Rev. Messrs. Storrs, J. M. Putnam, Dr. Chadbourne, Rev. Messrs. Phelps, Cutler and Albe Cady, Esq. a committee of arrangements and overtures.

After which, the Convention adjourned to hear a sermon from Rev. Mr. Grosvenor, in the Rev. Mr. Bouton's church, to meet in the Hall again at half past one o'clock, P. M. Mr. G. preached from the text, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." His purpose, he said, was to show that the Bible not only condemns slavery, but requires immediate emancipation as the remedy. And this, he said, was made out at once if his hearers would admit that the negro was a man; for what man would like himself to be a slave? and what man, therefore, who loved his neighbor as himself would ever make or keep that neighbor for one moment a slave? He should, however, to be more particular, attempt to show—1. That slavery is not sanctioned by the Scriptures; 2. That the Scriptures condemn it; and 3. That they require immediate emancipation as its remedy, and pledge the word and energies of Omnipotence that its results shall be peaceful and happy. These various positions were abundantly sustained, and God's word rescued from the blasphemous slander, that it tolerates and sanctions slavery. Having established these positions, the preacher built upon them the inferences.—

1. That ministers of the gospel were solemnly bound to preach on the subject of slavery on the Sabbath; and that until they did it, and did it fully and fearlessly, they were guilty of not declaring the whole counsel of God. 2. That churches were solemnly bound to sustain their ministers in so doing. For if the Bible sanctioned slavery, they ought to preach that, so that the consciences of the community might be at rest on the subject; and if the Bible did not sanction it, they certainly ought to preach that, and their churches ought to stand by and sustain them—else they were guilty, awfully guilty before God.

AFTERNOON. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Curtis.

The Convention proceeded to discuss several resolutions as offered by the committee of overtures. The first resolution, expressive of the feelings of the Convention towards the South, is as follows:

Resolved, That in our efforts to promote the emancipation of our fellow men now in bondage, we entirely disclaim all hostile feelings towards our brethren at the South. We are conscious of no other than feelings of benevolence towards that race, as well as slaves; and we believe that, in laboring for the cause of universal emancipation, we are fighting for both.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF N. H.

Resolved, That we highly approve the resolutions adopted by the General Association of N. H. at their late meeting at Meredith, which were—

"That we view it as the imperious duty of Christians to make slavery a subject of prayer, inquiry, and discussion, with a view to its cessation at the earliest period consistent with its peaceable accomplishment, and,

"That we deem it vitally important that all discussions on this subject should be free from unhal- lowed excitement, and be conducted in a spirit marked with the meekness and gentleness of Christ."

ORGANIZATION OF A STATE SOCIETY.

Resolved, That the time has come when every American, and especially every American Christian is solemnly bound to arouse himself and give his immediate, earnest, and unwearied attention and efforts to the great work of abolishing the system of slavery in this land utterly and forever; and that for the purpose of concentrating our energies and bringing them to bear with the greatest effect on this subject, this Convention now proceed to organize a STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Committee of overtures, being instructed to prepare a Constitution, reported the following:

CONSTITUTION.

PREAMBLE. The most high God hath made of one blood all the families of man to dwell on the face of all the earth, and hath endowed all alike with the same inalienable rights, in which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; yet there are now in this land, more than two millions of human beings, possessed of the same deathless spirits, and heirs to the same immortal hopes and destinies, with ourselves, who are nevertheless deprived of these their sacred rights, and kept in the most cruel and abject bondage; a bondage under which human beings are bred and fattened for the market, and then bought, sold, mortgaged, leased, bartered, fettered, tasked, scourged, beaten, killed, hunted even like the veriest brutes,—nay, made often the unwilling victims of ungodly lust; while, at the same time, their minds are, by law and custom, generally shut out from all access to letters, and in various other ways all their upward tendencies are repressed and crushed, so as to make their "moral and religious condition such that they may justly be considered the heathen of this country;"* and since we regard such oppression as one of the greatest wrongs that man can commit against his fellow; and existing as it does, and tolerated as it is, under this free and Christian government, sapping its foundation, bringing its institutions into contempt among other nations, thus retarding the march of freedom and religion and strengthening the hands of despotism and irreligion throughout the world; and since we deem it a duty to ourselves, to our government, to the world, to the oppressed, and to God, to do all we can to end this oppression, and to secure an immediate and entire emancipation of the oppressed; and believe we can act most efficiently in the case, in the way of combined and organized action:—Therefore, we, the undersigned, do form ourselves into a society for the purpose, and adopt the following

CONSTITUTION.

ART. 1. This Society shall be called the NEW-HAMPSHIRE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and shall be auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

ART. 2. The fundamental principle of this Society is, that slave-holding is a heinous sin against God, and ought therefore to be immediately and forever abandoned.

ART. 3. The objects of this Society are to secure the immediate and entire emancipation of the enslaved from the oppression of slavery, of the free blacks from the oppression of public sentiment, and the elevation of both to the enjoyment of equal intellectual, civil and religious rights and privileges. And this Society will endeavor to effect these objects by the use of such Christian means as are suited to correct prevailing and wicked prejudices, and to change the public sentiment of the nation in regard to the rights of the enslaved; but will never encourage a resort to violence in vindication of their rights.

ART. 4. Any person assenting to the above principles may become a member of the Society by signing this constitution. Local Societies formed on similar principles may become auxiliary by paying any sum annually into the Treasury.

ART. 5. The Officers of this Society shall be a President, five or more Vice Presidents, a Corresponding and Recording Secretary, Treasurer and Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall consist of seven, who with the President, Vice Presidents, Secretaries and Treasurer shall constitute a Board of Managers to represent the Society during its recess. It shall be the duty of the Board of Managers to take all measures necessary to carry into effect the general objects of the Society five constituting a quorum to transact business.

ART. 6. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held in Concord, at such time and place as the Managers shall appoint during Election week.

ART. 7. This Constitution may be altered or amended at any annual meeting of the Society, such alteration or amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting.

Appointed Messrs. Chadbourne, H. C. Greene, W. Chamberlain, J. D. Anderson and Rev. Messrs. S. Abbott, J. Perkins and J. M. Putnam, a committee to nominate a list of officers for the State Society. The committee reported the following, who were chosen as

OFFICERS OF THE STATE SOCIETY.

President. Rev. Jonathan Curtis, Pittsfield.

*See the report of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, published in March, 1834.

Vice-Presidents. Dr. Th. Chadbourne, Concord; Gen. D. Hunt, Sandwich. Rev. Calvin Cutler, Windham; Rev. J. M. Whiton, Antrim; N. P. Rogers, Esq. Plymouth; and Mr. Amos Campbell, Acworth.

Executive Committee. Rev. N. Bouton, Concord; Rev. J. M. Putnam, Dunbarton; Albe Cady, Esq. Concord; Rev. Geo. Storrs, Concord; Rev. D. Stowell, Goffstown; D. L. French, Esq. do; Rev. M. G. Thomas, Concord; Mr. Benjamin Damon, Concord.

Corresponding Secretary. John Farmer, Esq. Concord.

Recording Secretary. Rev. Edmund Worth, Concord.

Treasurer. George Kent, Esq. Concord.

Voted, to adjourn to meet this evening at Rev Mr Cummings' Meeting house.

TUESDAY EVENING. The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev Mr Putnam, of Dunbarton.

Rev. Mr. Storrs of Concord, introduced with remarks the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Convention regards the practice of persons, and especially of Christian ministers, going from the free to the slave-holding States, and there becoming the owners of slaves, as a crime [which may be justly ranked with those] of the blackest dye, and as deserving the unqualified condemnation and abhorrence of every friend of liberty and religion.

[The sentence in brackets was not in the resolution as first adopted.]

Mr. Bacon, of Boston, seconded the motion, and related the anecdote of the black boy who escaped from his clerical master, while on his visit to the springs.

Rev. Mr. Porter, of Boston, alluded to the fact that those who go from the north, and become slave-holders at the south, become proverbially the most cruel slave-masters. He also spoke of the deadening effect on those ministers who thus marry slavery, and the tenacity with which they are commonly attached to the system, by reasoning with their consciences and persuading themselves that they are in the path of duty, and hope to *ameliorate* the condition of their slaves. We thus see that something needs to be done at the North, to impress on the minds of those that go to the south, the sin of slavery.

Rev. Mr. Phelps spoke of the aggravation of the crime for those who go from a land of liberty and engage in slavery: and that such are considered as representatives of the people at the North; and from their conduct, it is of course taken as an admitted truth, that the people at the North approve of slavery.

Rev. Mr. Rand, in a vein of irony, took up the arguments which those must in reality adopt, who satisfy their consciences in the practice of slave-holding; in which he spoke of the spirit of the gospel as adapting itself to the various circumstances of society.

Mr. Jewett, late of the Theological Seminary of Andover, in reply to Mr. Rand, spoke of the Catholics as practising according to this principle of accommodation.

Rev. Mr. Grosvenor gave some explanation of Mr. Rand's remarks, which were not understood by all; and carried them out, so as much to interest and gratify the audience. He, in allusion to ministers marrying slave's mistresses in order to meliorate the condition of the slave, stated, that kindness to the slaves is a curse to them; for if they are kindly treated, their susceptibilities are rendered more acute, which makes their separation and the subsequent cruel treatment they may receive after the death of their master, so much the more cruel and painful.

Rev. Mr. Curtis, and the President, Rev. Mr. Root, stated the great responsibility which must rest upon us, if we pass this resolution. If we do

it, we cannot fellowship or invite into our pulpits such slave-holding ministers.

On proposing the resolution for adoption, the whole congregation were requested to express their approbation or disapprobation by rising: when only two voted in the negative, on the resolution.

Mr. MILLS, of Dunbarton, introduced with a few remarks the following resolution.

Resolved, That no man has, or can have, a right at his discretion, to enslave his brother, to hold or acknowledge him for one moment as an article of property or merchandise; to keep back his hire by fraud, or to brutalize his mind by withholding from him the means of intellectual, moral, and religious improvement; and therefore, that considering the civil and religious privileges of this nation, and its own exposition of the great doctrine of human rights, the guilt of his oppression is unequaled by that of any nation on the face of the earth.

Mr. THOMPSON, of England, seconded the motion; and in a most forcible and eloquent address presented the evil and sin of slavery. It is impossible to give, in print, any just idea of his Christian eloquence. The principle he maintained is, that the slave has a RIGHT TO HIMSELF; and then enumerated the various things of which he is forcibly deprived against his will. He had never sold himself, never given himself away, and so on. In his introductory remarks, he commented with some severity on those two who had voted in the negative on the previous resolution.

One of the gentlemen now desired to be heard in defence. To give him this opportunity, the motion to adopt that resolution was reconsidered; and it was again brought up for discussion. He then stated his objections; and that he could not accuse such men as guilty of a sin of the *blackest dye*.

It was then moved and seconded, that the objectionable words be stricken out.

Mr. THOMPSON then replied with great force and eloquence. To claim the right of holding a human being as property, is assuming the prerogative which belongs only to Almighty God. Jehovah alone has a right to say of any human being, 'He is mine.' And for one who claims to be a minister of Jehovah, an expounder of the truths of his revelation, one too who has been educated in a land of freemen, to make slaves of his fellows, constitutes a crime of the *blackest dye*.

Mr. PORTER said, if we adopt this amendment, it will be regarded as a relinquishment of the principle which is the basis of all our efforts in this cause; and will be carrying us back ten years in the progress of benevolent improvements. The principle has long since been adopted in our temperance operations. We have said that the traffic in ardent spirit, particularly by a deacon or a professor of religion, is a crime of the deepest dye; not that we say such men are the wickedest men in the community. We say this that they may know what we think, and where our well established principles lead us. So we do not say of the Christian slave-holder, that he is the wickedest man in the community; but we call the sin he is committing, one we regard as of the blackest dye, in order that he may know how we view it, and that he may be brought to give the subject an examination, and to repent of his sin. We wish also to let those who may hereafter go to the South and do likewise, know that while they are doing it, they are wilfully committing a sin of the blackest dye.

The President and some others still doubted the propriety of calling it a sin of the blackest dye. The President asked, 'Is not murder a sin of a deeper dye?'

To test this, Mr. Grosvenor said:—I have left at home my wife and child—

dren: during my absence some ruffian enters my dwelling, and during the hours of night completes his fell designs. As I enter the house on my return, a horrible sight meets my view. Behold! my wife and children have all been murdered. Again:—While thus absent, a manstealer enters my premises, and finds my children at their play. When on my return, I enter the house, I am told, ‘the wicked manstealer has been here, and carried away our dear little Emma into slavery never to return.’ Every day thereafter, I think of dear Emma, subjected to all the evils and enduring all the toils of slavery, and more than all, subject to the unbridled lust of her tyrannical master. Which of these men, sir, should I regard as guilty of a sin of the blackest dye?

At this point of his remarks, there was a general burst of indignation against the domineering and licentious manstealer: and the cry of ‘enough! enough!’ from many quarters.

The amendment was rejected, and the original resolution was passed with nearly a unanimous vote.

WEDNESDAY MORNING. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Stowell.

The resolution, which was discussed at length last evening, was taken up for re-consideration. The principal speakers were Rev. Messrs. Cutler, Storrs, Putnam, Phelps, Root, Curtis, Stowell, and Mr. Thompson.

The question of debate was, whether it is correct to say that for a minister of the gospel to go to the south and hold slaves, is a sin of the deepest dye; and admitting that it is, is it expedient for us to say so.

Mr. Thompson remarked, we do not say it is the crime of the blackest dye, but it is one of that class.

To meet the views of all, the resolution was amended, by the addition of the words included in brackets.

Voted, on motion of Rev. Mr. Storrs, that the thanks of this Convention be presented to the Rev Mr. Grosvenor, for his very able and interesting discourse, delivered yesterday on Slavery, and that a copy be requested for publication.

Messrs. Storrs and Worth, were accordingly appointed a committee to wait on Rev. Mr. Grosvenor, and express to him the above.

Mr. Bacon stated, that Mr. Oaks of Ipswich had made a donation to the Convention of anti-slavery publications, to the amount of 20 dollars. A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Oaks, for his liberal donation and measures taken for a proper distribution.

The committee then reported the following:

LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS.

Resolved, That as public opinion is the element of power in this country, every individual in the community and especially all Christians have solemn obligations resting upon them, to “remember them that are in bonds as bound with them,” to offer up fervent prayers in their behalf, and to do all in their power in a Christian way, by the circulation of publications, &c., to change public sentiment, and bring deliverance to the oppressed; and that the anti-slavery energies and influence of this state may be combined and organized to the best possible advantage; this Convention earnestly recommend the formation of local societies, auxiliary to the State society, as extensively and speedily as possible, throughout the state.

FEMALE SOCIETIES.

Resolved, That this Convention regards as a duty binding on all every age, sex, and condition in society, to “remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them,” and does therefore regard with high satisfaction the formation of Female Anti-Slavery Societies, and consider the general co-operation of American ladies in the holy cause of emancipation, as essential to the overthrow of slavery in the land.

Mr. Thompson spoke of what the ladies have done and are doing in England. Their business has been to collect funds; get names to petitions, engage men to write poetry and short pieces in prose, to be printed on fire boards, on cards, on silk, and on ivory, for parlor ornaments, and also on porcelain ware. Such a constant appeal to the eye, tends to keep the subject constantly

before the mind, and makes it one of daily conversation. In getting signers to petitions, the ladies of Great Britain have been peculiarly successful, and their petitions have had weight in Parliament. One petition of theirs for the abolition of slavery had 187,000 signatures, and required four men to carry it into the house. On this occasion, it was said in Parliament,—‘It is now time for us to act, since the women have come thundering at our doors.’ The ladies are very successful in obtaining funds; they have a short cut to the gentlemen’s pockets. Their arguments are much more irresistible and effective than those of the men. They obtain funds also by their bazars. At Manchester they raised 1000 pounds, nearly 5000 dollars, in this way. The ladies can diffuse information; they can talk on the subject in the family and in the social circles. The influence of the ladies has been felt on the British Parliament. They manifested a determination, and the Parliament felt it, never to give over laboring and petitioning, until slavery should be abolished. We have been told that it is unwomanly, unfeminine for ladies to be engaged in this cause; that the subject is a political one. It is a great moral and religious question, it is a question pertaining to humanity. Do you say it is unfeminine for a female to labor and plead in behalf of the injured slave? She would be more unfeminine if she could overlook the situation of many of her sex in the southern states.—Can she see the marriage relation unregarded, all the nicer sensibilities of her sex annihilated, and all the licentiousness incident to slavery, and not feel and act for her injured and oppressed sisters, and yet claim the character of woman?

WHAT IS SLAVERY?

Resolved, That those who define slavery to consist in mere involuntary servitude, and compare it with the services rendered by apprentices and minors, do, in our apprehension, entirely mistake its meaning. The slavery which we oppose, is the holding of men as property, and treating them not as persons, but as things, not as men, but as brutes, and exacting of their services without rendering them any equivalent, and without any view to their benefit.

AMALGAMATION.

Resolved, That slaveholders and their apologists, and all who in any way tolerate and help to perpetuate the system of slavery in this country, are the only real advocates and promoters of the amalgamation of the white and colored races, and in a way which makes it offensive and criminal.

On this subject, there was considerable remark, in which Messrs. Phelps, Grosvenor and Rand, participated. Many facts were spoken of to show that it is chiefly among those who regard slaves as property, as things to be used or abused at pleasure, that amalgamation usually takes place, and that too under circumstances the most criminal. The case of a man of distinction (!) at the south, who had made his fortune by selling his own children, was alluded to. Another was that of a family of sisters whose father had left in his will his own colored children free, but whose will was questioned and set aside; and the black girls were sold at auction by their own half sisters.

MANUAL LABOR HIGH SCHOOL.

In view of the general want of mental cultivation of the colored population of our country; of the disadvantages under which they too often labor in availing themselves of privileges which they ought to enjoy in common with others, and of the high and growing importance of the improvement of that oppressed portion of our community,—

Resolved, That this Convention cordially approve of the recommendation of the N. E. A. S. Convention at their meeting in May last, in the city of Boston, that a Manual Labor High School be established as soon as practicable in some most eligible portion of New England, for their literary and moral improvement and elevation.

Communications were read to the Convention from several distinguished

gentlemen from abroad, who enter heartily into the great work of emancipation. [See Appendix.]

MR. THOMPSON.

Resolved, That this Convention most cordially and affectionately welcome to this country, their friend and fellow laborer, George Thompson, who after having labored with great acceptance and success in the cause of human liberty in Great Britain, has now come among us, sustained by the liberality of British Christians, the representative of the views and feelings of a large class of the most devoted Christians in that country, among whom are such men as Drs. Hough, Cox, Wardlaw, Rev. John Angel James, George Stephens, Esq., &c. to aid us in the great work of abolishing slavery in these United States—and believing that he comes among us as a friend and brother, desirous only of promoting the true interest and highest glory of our beloved land, and that his labors will be of eminent service in the work before us, we would cordially and affectionately recommend him to the courtesy, confidence and friendship of the Christian community.

Resolved further, That Mr. Thompson be invited to occupy the session of the convention this evening, or so much of the time as may be necessary to give us his views on the general subject of slavery.

UNION OF ALL DENOMINATIONS IN THE CAUSE.

Resolved, That all distinction of sects or denominations of Christians in our efforts to abolish slavery, should be forgotten, and all Christians of every name should unite cordially in this labor of love.

PETITIONS TO CONGRESS FOR ABOLISHING SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

On this subject, in which all christians can unite, it was

Resolved, That this Convention regards it as the solemn duty of all friends of liberty and religion, to exert their utmost influence for the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the territories. To this end, it is highly important to send petitions to Congress the present year, to take immediate action on the subject; and that a committee of three be now appointed to prepare an address to the people of New Hampshire, and also, a form of petition both for males and females.

Agreeably to the foregoing resolution, the following committee was appointed for the purposes therein specified, viz:—John Farmer, Esq., George Kent, Esq., and Rev. R. A. Putnam.

EXPATRIATION.

On this subject, the Convention after considerable discussion

Resolved, That all schemes of expatriation, however well intended, considered as a substitute for, or a condition of emancipation, are unjust in principle, and oppressive in operation.

Rev. Mr. PHELPS introduced the resolution by remarks on the compulsory measures sometimes resorted to at the South, particularly in Maryland, to compel the blacks to emigrate. He was followed by Rev. Mr. GROSVENOR in a similar strain.

Rev. Mr. PORTER had doubts as to the expediency of passing any resolution on a subject which related to colonization. There is an impression abroad that one great object of these Anti-Slavery Conventions, and our Anti-Slavery societies, is to oppose colonization, and to denounce its friends. Our great object is to oppose and bring slavery to an end, and to turn aside from this to the comparatively trifling subject of colonization is unadvisable. We shall gain a much better hearing from many good people, if it can be said of this Convention, that they let colonization alone. Prof. Follen's address has from this very fact, been attentively read by many who would not otherwise have examined it. On the whole, then, unless some weighty reasons should be given why this resolution should now pass, he preferred that it might lie on the table.

Rev. Mr. PUTNAM said, he was a member of the Colonization Society, and thought that society might do good in its appropriate sphere; but it was his opinion, and he presumed the opinion of most of the good people of New-England, that it could never prove an adequate remedy for slavery. He thought

such a resolution was demanded, and would not be objected to, but rather approved by the colonizationists of New-England.

The resolution was then passed unanimously.

DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE.

The Convention,

Resolved, That, the domestic slave-trade, as now carried on in these United States, is a legitimate fruit of slave-holding, for which slave-holders, and those who uphold the system of slavery are mainly responsible; and that it is no less atrocious in the sight of God, than the foreign slave trade, and ought to be viewed and treated as piracy.

PLAN OF OPERATIONS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Rev. Mr. BOUTON moved the following resolution :

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to state definitely, in distinct propositions, the several modes of operation proposed by the Anti-slavery Society, for the abolition of slavery.

Rev. Messrs. Grosvenor, Phelps and Bouton were appointed this committee.

At the evening session, they handed in the following :—

The committee report :—That, as they understand the matter, the Anti-Slavery society proposes the immediate and entire emancipation of all the slaves in this land. And they propose to effect this object,

First. By the general measure of correcting the public sentiment of the nation, both in the free and slave states; believing that when this sentiment is thus set right, the nation, acting as a nation by Congress, will abolish slavery in the district of Columbia, and the territories; and the slave states, acting as states, will abolish it in their limits.

Second. In regard to the details of the matter, the committee suppose that public sentiment is to be corrected on this subject, as on the subject of intemperance,

1. By means of the press.

2. By means of the pulpit.

3. By means of lecturers and agents, who shall in various ways bring the subject before the community.

And the committee believe, that as these modes of operation form our Saviour's plan for reforming the world in respect to all kinds of sin, they will be efficacious under the divine blessing, to the reform of this nation, in respect to the sin of slave-holding.

All which is respectfully submitted, &c.

SCHOOLS FOR COLORED YOUTH.

Resolved, We regard with approbation the plan of establishing schools that will not, either by form of law or of prejudice oftentimes stronger than law, exclude colored youth from a participation in their benefits; and the proposed Academy in Canaan in this state, with reference to the principle, meets our views, and is recommended to the countenance and support of the friends of the people of color.

COMPENSATION.

The subject of compensation was largely discussed. On the one hand it was maintained by Mr. Cutler and others, that if giving a compensation for the slaves would be a means of hastening their emancipation, it was best to do it.

On the other, it was claimed, that the offer of a compensation is an admission that slave-holders have a right to their slaves, and that it is not wrong to continue the system. Mr. Phelps wished emancipation to be put on the ground of a restoration of that on which the holder has no claim. All evangelical repentance should be followed by immediate, unconditional restitution of what

had been unjustly withheld. Mr. Rand asked, How can the slave-holder claim compensation for that which does not belong to him.

Mr. Thompson alluded to the compensation system, as one which had given great offence to the people of England, as well as the whole apprentice system. He said the British parliament would be again petitioned on this subject, and be obliged to change their policy.

At the close of these remarks, the convention

Resolved, That it is the deliberate opinion of this Convention, that immediate emancipation is the only just, safe, and efficient remedy for slavery in these United States; and that in the event of such settlement of the question, the slave-owner could establish no righteous claim to compensation.

Voted, to adjourn to the Baptist Meeting House.

WEDNESDAY EVENING. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Grosvenor.

Mr. Thompson lectured for two hours to a full congregation. His principal theme was, the Bible view of slavery. At the close, he gave much information of the subject of Hayti.

WITHHOLDING THE BIBLE FROM SLAVES.

Resolved, That while this Convention rejoices in any indications that our fellow-citizens at the south are awakening to an apprehension of the claims of the slaves for instruction, they do, nevertheless, most solemnly protest against the practice of keeping them ignorant of the use of letters, and deem all plans lamentably and wickedly deficient, which wilfully withhold the oracles of God: such plans being contrary alike to Protestantism and genuine Christianity.

MONTHLY CONCERT OF PRAYER FOR SLAVES.

The Convention earnestly recommend to all the friends of liberty and religion, either to observe the last Monday evening in each month as a monthly concert of prayer for the abolition of slavery in this land, and throughout the world, or to appropriate a portion of the first Monday evening for this purpose, in connexion with the established concert.

ADDRESSES AND PETITIONS TO CONGRESS.

This convention respectfully and earnestly recommend to all ministers of the gospel in this state, of every denomination, who are in favor of the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the territories, under the jurisdiction of congress, to deliver an address upon the subject to their respective congregations immediately, in order that petitions to Congress for this object may be sent in at the next session; and also, if thought proper, to take up a collection in aid of the Anti-slavery cause, to be transmitted to the treasurer of the state society.

A collection was taken up to defray the expenses of the Convention.

Voted, that Messrs. J. B. Chandler, T. Chadbourne and A. Cady, Esq. be a committee to express the thanks of this convention to the proprietors of the Baptist and Congregational Meeting Houses for their use during this session.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to prepare the Minutes of this convention for publication, and publish them in such papers in the state as are willing to do it, and also, in a pamphlet form for general circulation, and that this committee consist of the secretaries, Rev. Mr. Storrs, E. S. Chadwick, and Albe Cady, Esq.

Voted, to dissolve. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Rand.

DAVID ROOT, President.

EDMUND WORTH, } Secretaries,
JOHN B. CHANDLER, }

REMARKS.

It is but a short time since the subject of emancipation has been agitated in New Hampshire. True it is, that we have long slumbered over the miseries of captive man and have refused to feel and weep over the sins of our beloved country. But a great change is taking place; our fellow citizens are awaking from their lethargies, and public sentiment is becoming more correct, more in accordance with the word of God. It has been taught that Slavery is only a *political* sin, and consequently christians, or, especially ministers of the gospel, should not meddle with the subject; but it is now an opinion, supported by the Bible, that slavery is a sin, a *moral* evil, and that, against which the principles of our holy religion, and the commands of God make it the imperious duty of every christian and minister to contend.

The friends of the cause called this convention with some reluctance, knowing that but very little had been done in this state for its advancement, and fearing that but few would be disposed to attend and, therefore, the attempt might prove a failure; but having full confidence that truth was on their side, and that the cause was a righteous one—one that Heaven would bless, they were induced to move forward, and the result has far surpassed their most sanguine expectations. Between forty and fifty delegates were present, and, according to the information communicated on the occasion from different parts of the state, it is evident that the doctrine of immediate emancipation is rapidly spreading and gaining a strong hold on the moral feelings of society. "Verily truth is mighty and will prevail."

As the opposers to immediate emancipation have endeavored to create some alarm from the circumstance that so many of the gentlemen who attached their names to the Notice calling the convention, were clergymen, it may be proper to remark that, in this, there was no design by the committee, but it arose from the fact that no correspondence had ever been held with gentlemen in different sections of the State, consequently the views of those in a more private capacity, who were favorable to the cause, were not known, and therefore the committee were under the necessity of consulting such whose views had been ascertained.

It is not the design of these remarks, however, to attempt a refutation of the arguments of the opposer—every good cause has opposition, and this is manifested sometimes by very good men who do not see so soon as others, the correctness of the principles advocated, and, again by others, whose hearts are radically opposed to that which is good. And the arguments raised against the truth, however plausibly they may be presented, generally incorporate in themselves their own refutation, which, upon examination, will be clearly discovered.

The session was harmonious and the business and discussions were conducted with a christian spirit. An acknowledgement is due to the gentleman whose Notes have been consulted in preparing these Minutes for the press.

It is hoped, that this subject will be candidly considered and fully investigated, and that a consistent and just course may be adopted by the American people in relation to OVER TWO MILLIONS of their fellow-beings now held in SLAVERY.

TO THE PEOPLE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The undersigned, appointed a Committee for the purpose by the Anti-Slavery Convention, recently held at Concord, in this State, beg leave, respectfully, yet earnestly, to call your attention to the subjects of Slavery and the American Slave-Trade, as they exist in the Territories belonging to this Union, and more particularly in the District of Columbia.

We are well aware that Congress has, under the present Constitution, no power to abolish Slavery in any state of the Union. This is a matter in respect to which each state alone has the power to legislate. At the same time we are equally aware, and would impress it upon the minds of all our fellow citizens that Congress has, by this same constitution, as full and uncontrolled a right to legislate for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District and the Territories, as has any individual state to do the same within its own limits. The Constitution expressly provides, that Congress shall have the power “to exercise *exclusive* legislation, in *all cases whatsoever*, over such district, not exceeding ten miles square, as may, by session of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of Gov’t of the U. S. ;” and, as is well known, Congress has the same unrestricted jurisdiction over the Territories. So long then as we allow the representatives of New Hampshire to sit silent and inactive in relation to this subject, in our National Assembly—without an effort even, to abolish slavery and the traffic in slaves in the very capital of our common country, so long is New Hampshire a slave-holding and a slave-trading state—as truly so as Maryland or Virginia: so long are the people of New Hampshire, in common with others, strictly and literally guilty of holding more than 26,000 human beings in hopeless and unmitigated bondage; nay more, of sanctioning and upholding a *system* (and so becoming answerable for its results) which, in the states, dooms more than two millions of native born Americans, with their posterity, through all succeeding generations, to a bondage not surpassed in rigor, cruelty, hopelessness and guilt by any bondage on the face of the earth. Slavery then,—and especially the slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories, is a National sin. The guilt and shame of tolerating and upholding it, are therefore strictly national.—It thus becomes the *right*—nay the SOLEMN DUTY of every and all the people in every part of the land, to interfere, and through their representatives in Congress, put forth their power for its abolition. The duty is solemn and imperative, and cannot be neglected by any one without incurring the guilt of consenting to, and abetting a system of robbery and oppression that daily and hourly robs millions of their dearest and most sacred rights, and dooms them and the unborn generations of their posterity, to hopeless, ceaseless, unmitigated thralldom.

Permit us to lay before you a few facts. There are more than 26,000 persons held as slaves in the sections of country already named; and of these, more than 6,000 are in the District of Columbia.

Their bondage is in all essential respects, the same as that existing in the several slave states—a bondage whose laws and usages rob human beings of their humanity, men of their manhood, and degrade them to the condition of mere property—goods and chattels—to be bought and sold, bartered, leased, mortgaged, tasked, fettered, scourged, beaten, &c. like the veriest brutes, and shuts up the soul to ignorance, degradation and death. It is a bondage under which, men, made in God’s image, and endowed by God

with the same inalienable rights with their oppressors, are shut out by law from the protection of law—being protected only as property, and not as men, having the rights of men. A slave in Louisiana “is one who is in the power of the master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, his labor; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor require any thing, but what must belong to his master.* A slave in the District of Columbia is the same. His body is not his own. His limbs are not his own. His wife and his children are not his own. His industry and his labor are not his own. His mind is not his own. His ingenuity and attainments are none of them his own. But body and mind, himself and family and posterity with his and their industry, labor, ingenuity and attainments—all belong to another, so that “he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire any thing but what must belong to his master.” Such is the yoke which is fastened on the neck of more than 26,000 human beings in the territories and the capital of this boasted Republic.

It is not our purpose to enlarge on this part of the subject by going into a detail of the various cruelties to which these slaves are subjected. It is enough to say that they are slaves—the absolute property of their masters, and that we know of no reason to prevent their being subjected to the same, or similar cruelties with slaves elsewhere. We wish rather to call your attention particularly to the trade in the souls and bodies of men, which grows out of this ownership of their persons, and must ever exist to some extent, wherever by the laws of the land, men are held as goods and chattels, but which is carried on in the District of Columbia, within sight of the Capitol, to an extent, and under circumstances, that at once aggravate its guilt, and make its character horrible and revolting in the highest degree.

We know not how to bring this subject before you better than by laying before you the following statements, made, after careful investigation, in a preamble to resolutions offered by Mr. Miner of Pennsylvania, to the House of Representatives, 9th January, 1829, and then illustrating the truth of these statements by facts.

‘Whereas the laws in respect to slavery within the District have been almost entirely neglected; from which neglect, for nearly 30 years, have grown numerous and gross corruptions.

‘Slave dealers gaining confidence from impunity, have made the seat of the Federal Government their head quarters for carrying on the domestic slave trade.

‘The public prisons have been extensively used (perverted from the purposes for which they were erected) for carrying on the domestic slave-trade.

‘Officers of the Federal Government have been employed and derive emoluments from carrying on the domestic slave-trade.

‘Private and secret prisons exist in the District for carrying on the traffic in human beings.

‘The trade is not confined to those who are slaves for life; but persons having a limited time to serve, are bought by the slave-dealers, and sent where redress is hopeless.

‘Others are kidnapped and hurried away before they can be rescued.

‘Instances of death, from the anguish of despair, exhibited in the District, mark the cruelty of this traffic.

‘Instances of maiming and suicide, executed, or attempted, have been exhibited, growing out of this traffic within the District.

‘Free persons of color coming into the District, are liable to arrest and

*Civil Code of Louisiana, Art. 35.

imprisonment, and sold into slavery for life, for jail fees, if unable from ignorance, misfortune or fraud, to prove their freedom.

'Advertisements beginning, "We will give cash for 100 likely young negroes of both sexes from eight to twenty-five years old," contained in the public prints of the city, under the notice of Congress, indicate the openness and extent of the traffic.

'Scenes of human beings exposed at public vendue are exhibited here, [at Washington] permitted by the laws of the General Government.'

The above statements, it is believed, give a correct view of the *present state* of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. We propose to take them up one by one and illustrate them by facts.

'Slave-dealers have made the seat of the Federal Government their *head-quarters* for carrying on the domestic *Slave-trade*.'

This is evident from the following advertisement copied from the Washington "Globe" of the 18 July, 1834.

CASH FOR NEGROES.

We will pay the highest price for *any number* of likely Negroes, from 12 to 25 years of age. *As we are at this time permanently settled in the market*, we can at all times be found at Mr. Isaac Beers' Tavern, a few doors below Lloyd's Tavern, opposite to the Centre Market, in Washington, D. C., or at Mr. McCandless's Tavern, Corner of Bridge and High street, Georgetown. Persons having servants to dispose of, will find it to their advantage to give us a call.

June 10.

BIRCH & JONES.

And still more recently, as the dates will show, a single paper in that city has the following.

CASH FOR 100 NEGROES.

Including both sexes, from 12 to 25 years of age. Persons having likely servants to dispose of, will find it to their interest to give us a call, as we will give higher prices in cash than any other purchaser who is now in this city. We are at all times to be found at Mr. Isaac Beers' Tavern, a few doors below Lloyd's Tavern, opposite the Centre Market, Washington City. All communications promptly attended to.

Sept. 1, 1834.

BIRCH & JONES.

CASH FOR 200 NEGROES.

We will give cash for 200 likely young Negroes, of both sexes, families included. Persons having to dispose of their slaves will do well to give us a call, as we will give higher prices in cash than any other purchasers who are now, or may be hereafter in this market. All communications will meet attention. We can at all times be found at our residence on 7th st. immediately South of the Centre, Market House, Washington, D. C.

Sept. 13.

JOSEPH W. NEAL & CO.

CASH FOR 400 NEGROES.

Including both sexes, from 12 to 25 years of age. Persons having likely servants to dispose of will find it to their interest to give us a call, as we will give higher prices, in cash, than any purchaser who is now, or may hereafter come into this market.

Alexandria, Sept. 1.

FRANKLIN, ARMFIELD & CO.

ALEXANDRIA & NEW-ORLEANS PACKETS.

Brig TRIBUNE, Capt. Smith, and Brig UNCAS, Capt. Boush, will resume their *regular* trips on the 20th Oct. one of which will leave this port every *thirty days throughout the shipping season*. They are vessels of the first class, commanded by experienced officers, and will at all times go up the Mississippi by steam, and every exertion used to promote the interest of *shippers and the comfort of passengers*. Apply to the Captain on board, or to

FRANKLIN & ARMFIELD.

Alexandria, Sept. 1.

The above advertisements are decisive of the fact that "slave-dealers have made the seat of the Federal Government their *head-quarters*" for carrying on this guilty traffic. They assure us of the existence, at this moment, in the District of no less than three copartnerships formed and "*permanently*" established there for this purpose—all of which are driving their horrible business, both by land and sea, "as regularly and systematically as any trade that is driven between New-York and Liverpool or Havre."

One of them, it seems, has two brigs sailing regularly from Alexandria to New-Orleans "*every thirty days throughout the shipping season.*" And the fact that these three establishments have together, in a single paper, advertised for SEVEN HUNDRED slaves, shows at once, that the trading season has commenced, and that the trade is driven to an extent truly appalling.

For the purpose of laying the secrets of this guilty business more fully before you, we subjoin the following account of a visit to the prison of one of these establishments, by the editor of the New-York Evangelist.

"WASHINGTON CITY, JAN. 23, 1834.

MR. J. W. BENEDICT,—I have just returned from a scene, which, till I came here, I had not expected soon to witness. And though I am glad of one opportunity, yet for the honor of my country, for humanity, for my own feelings, I wish never to witness it again. I have seen with my own eyes, under the jurisdiction of the Congress of the United States, the place, persons, apparatus and subjects of the

THE AMERICAN SLAVE-TRADE."

* * * * * It is in Alexandria, and is "a handsome three story brick house, VERY handsomely painted, with green blinds. It had a large yard, perhaps 300 feet square, enclosed by a close board fence, neatly whitewashed, and almost filled with various small buildings. Over the door was the sign, FRANKLIN & ARMFIELD. We knocked, and were introduced to the office where was a very gentlemanly person, who was one of the principals of the concern. The other partner resides at New-Orleans.—We told him we were from the North, where we had no slaves, and that having come to a slave-holding country, we had a desire to see for ourselves a little of the operation of the slave-trade.—He replied that he would be very happy to give us all the information in his power. And he did answer all our enquiries, so far as we could judge, with perfect fairness.—He said he could tell, very nearly the whole number of slaves carried from the District in a year. The number, last year, was about 1,000, but it would be very much increased this year. The rise in the price of cotton at the South—the pressure for money at the North, would bring a great many slaves into the market. He expected their house alone would ship at least 11 or 1200. They have two vessels of their own constantly employed in carrying slaves to New-Orleans. The vessels are brigs, of about 160 to 200 tons, and they usually carry about a slave to a ton. A principal reason of their purchasing the vessels was to prevent the holds from being over crowded. Before, when they depended upon freighting, as the more slaves the more profit to the ship owner, the vessels used to be so much crowded that the slaves would get sick, and so come to market in bad order. It was for his interest to have them appear fresh and healthy. To the question whether this slave-trade ever led to the buying and selling those who were lawfully free, he said, he had no doubt it frequently did, for said he, "every kind of business is cursed with mean fellows, and there are such characters in ours, who would not mind buying a man they knew to be free, if they could get him at half price." But he had done all in his power to prevent such things. It was an object with him to do business in such a way that gentlemen who traded with their house should always know who they dealt with.

He then politely invited us to go out and see the slaves. We were first taken into a paved yard 40 or 50 feet square, with a very high brick wall, and about half of it covered with a roof. The wall was whitewashed, and

the pavement perfectly clean. A pump in the centre furnished an ample supply of water. In the covered part was a long table set with tin plates, each containing an allowance of bread and boiled meat, apparently wholesome in quality, and sufficient in quantity for persons confined to a space so limited, without labor. This yard is appropriated to the men, the two sexes being *entirely* separated, except at their meals. He ordered the men to be called out from the cellar where they sleep, and they soon came up, to the number, I should say, of 50 or 60, and ranged themselves irregularly before us. They were all of them sufficiently clothed, as far as I could judge, having also shoes and stockings. He pointed to two young men, whose clothes were quite comfortable, and almost new, and said, "those fellows are from Virginia, and that is the way the Virginia niggers come. I gave \$500 a piece for them last week." A boy of sixteen next attracted notice, who was clad in an abundance of ragged cast off clothes, including boots, which were all too large, and made to touch his body in spots by the help of strings. "That boy is from Maryland, that's the way they come from Maryland. You see the difference." There was none among them that looked very old, or sickly, nor could I discover any particular indications of despondency or unhappiness. Several were boys, down, I should say, to ten years old.

While they were standing, he ordered the girls to be called out, when a door opened, and about 50 women and small children came in and immediately arranged themselves at the table. They were all clothed decently in coarse, but apparently comfortable garments. Some three or four had children so young that they brought them in their arms. And I thought I saw in the faces of *these* mothers, some indications of irrepressible feeling. It seemed to me that they hugged their little ones more closely, and that a cold perspiration stood on their foreheads, and I thought I saw tears too. Why should they not feel? Suppose it had been your child, and you supposed very likely the strangers had come to *buy* it, and carry it off a thousand miles into hopeless slavery. There were about 28 children under 10 years of age. The gentleman said the way he came to have so many children was, that he had just bought a whole gang of 50 or 60, belonging to the estate of a Dr. Marshall, who had lately died. Whether he was a relation of the Chief Justice, he did not know. He said he should sell them all together, and that they were more valuable in consequence of their being acquainted, and would fetch a higher price in the market to sell them all together.—He said also, that he would never sell his slaves so as to separate husband and wife, or mother and child. He had recently been urged to buy a man. He was offered even for twelve and a half cents if he would only carry him to New-Orleans. But the fellow had a wife in the neighborhood, and they did not like to be separated, and he would have nothing to do with it.

From the yard we descended into the cellar in which they sleep. It was clean, dry and well aired, with a fire burning briskly in the fireplace. There was nothing particularly noticeable about it, but the strong non grated door which closed the entrance, and two rings made of round iron, about three-fifths of an inch thick, fastened in the floor, as far apart as a man's length. I did not ask what they were for. The proprietor said he was very careful to keep them clean in their persons as well as their rooms: and if any man came up on Monday morning without a clean shirt he whipped him.

We next went into the women's chamber, and thence into the hospital. The latter was well warmed, with a stove. There were only two sick. One was an old woman, that had been brought there to be sold, but she was so sickly he would not buy her. She appeared to be in pain. The other was a young

woman, of quite light complexion and rather intelligent features, who had a young infant lying by her on the pillow. There were beds in the hospital spread on the floor. Our next visit was to the cook-room, which made part of a long, two story brick building. That building he said was occupied by those whom he could trust to go abroad. He said he often bought those in the neighborhood, who had good characters, and could be trusted to go at large in the town. In the cook-room, we saw a little boy and girl, five or six years old, who were better dressed than the others. Their complexions were quite light, their features bright and beautiful, and their clothes had an air of neatness and taste, such as *free* mothers love to impart to their little ones. He said the mother of these had been with him some time. Of the whole number that we saw, I should judge that about *half* bore in their complexion, evident traces of the white man's blood, and the white man's sin. Indeed, I should think that nearly the same proportion holds good, among all the colored people I have seen, proving conclusively that not emancipation but *slavery* produces the "amalgamation" of the two races, which is so much deprecated, while its causes are cherished and retained. We returned to the office, and having declined the polite offer of a glass of wine, or brandy and water, and thanked the proprietor for his attention, we took our leave.

He had told us that one of his vessels was in port, and he expected to ship a cargo next week. We thought, as we had begun, we had better see the whole, so we proceeded to the wharf. We found that the vessel had arrived, only two or three days before, and was taking in wood and stores with all haste, showing the urgency of the traffic in which she was employed. Her name is the "**TRIBUNE**." The captain very obligingly took us to all parts of the vessel. The hold is appropriated to the slaves, and is divided into two apartments. The after hold will carry about 80 women and the other about 100 men. On either side were two platforms, running the whole length, one raised a few inches, and the other about half way up to the deck. The were about 5 1-2 or 6 feet deep. On them, the slaves lie, as close as they can stow away. We asked the captain, if they were confined: he said no; he never locked down his hatchway, but let them come on deck as they pleased, and he never had the least difficulty with them. He said the way to make slaves turbulent was, to act as if you were afraid of them. A sensible remark, which I wish could be appreciated by those who are trying to lock down the hatchways upon the mind of the slave, and keep him from the free enjoyment of the light of heavenly truth. The captain said he expected to sail on Monday or Tuesday, so that before these lines meet the eye of our readers, those whom I saw will have passed regularly through all the forms of the United States Custom House, as merchandize, "shipped in good order and condition, for and on account of the owners," and will be far on the blue waters towards irredeemable bondage and labor, uncompensated and unmitigated, on the cotton fields and sugar plantations of Louisiana."

But there are still other establishments of this kind in the District. One other, at least, is that kept by William Robey at the corner of 7th street and Maryland Avenue, the following account of which has just been published by a gentleman, who visited it in May last.

"Mr. ——— directed me to the slave-house of Mr. Robey, about half a mile north of the Centre Market in Washington. On arriving at Mr. Robey's, I found a small wooden building adjoining a stable, and surrounded by a high board fence. Without, were two colored men, one of whom I learned was the overseer of the pen. I asked for admittance into the pen, but he refused, say-

ing it was not customary to admit strangers. He however soon left the place, and I entered into conversation with the other, who, with his wife, belonged to Robey. He gave me his history at length, which I will briefly relate. He said he was raised about 18 miles from Washington—had a good master. He would flog his slaves severely for using a profane or vulgar word. His slaves could not read; but went to meeting. At length his master died, and he and his wife were sold to a southern trader and brought to Robey's. He was much opposed to going South. It was a hot climate—the work would be new—slaves fared hard: he and his wife were now old, about 60—they must be driven 600 miles by land, and besides, he wanted to leave his bones in his native State. To endure this was too much. He begged and entreated to be sold in Washington—begged Robey to buy him—and finally, his petition was granted, and he now thought himself comparatively happy. Robey promised to do well by him, but had not bought him or his wife any clothes, and their food, although enough, was not wholesome. They got their own clothes by extra work—he by little jobs; his wife by nursing sick slaves, who generally have a little money to give on special occasions. He thought slavery a cruel system. He said he knew God cursed Cain with a black skin and curly hair, but he never cursed him with slavery. Christ wrote the gospel at the point of his fingers, and did not say slavery was right—so it must be wrong.

During this conversation, I heard within the pen the clanking of chains strangely commingling with the sound of music and dancing, and now and then a discordant laugh and vulgar oath fell upon my ear. But why the mirth? The slaves were now free from labor. Some had escaped a hard service, and were anticipating one less severe. My informant said the drivers had flattered some to believe that their condition would be improved by going to the South. These causes combined, together with their natural fondness for music and social enjoyment, gave some of them a momentary pleasure. But no promises nor threats, could assuage the anguish of others. 'O,' said the slave, 'I have seen 50 or 70 slaves taken out of the pen, and the males chained together in pairs, and drove off to the South—and how they would cry and groan, and take on and wring their hands!—but the driver would put on the whip, and tell them to shut up—so they would go off and bear it as well as they could! Slaves have learnt to make the best of their situation: they know they must obey, and they try to be happy, but sometimes find it impossible. There were 33 slaves then in the pen,—sometimes 100. F. & A. of Alexandria usually have more than Robey. I enquired if the slaves male and female were separated at night? He said they were. 'But,' said he, the *white gentlemen, the drivers and dealers come in every night—they came in last night, and staid till Mrs. Robey called them to breakfast.*' "

Such are the scenes which are constantly enacted in the seat of Government of free, republican, christian America! "O shame where is thy blush!"

And then, "private and secret prisons exist in the District for carrying on the traffic in human beings, whose location and number cannot, of course, be ascertained. Beside these, travelling traders are frequently coming into the District and the adjoining States to buy up human cattle for the Southern market.

But, "*The public prisons (perverted from the purposes for which they were erected) have been extensively used for carrying on the domestic slave trade.*"

In May, 1826, it was "enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled," that "the sum of five thousand dollars * * be paid out of any money in the Treasury

not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of altering and repairing the jail in the city of Washington, so as to make it a suitable, convenient, healthy and comfortable prison, for the use of the City and County of Washington;" and also that "the sum of *ten thousand* dollars be paid out of any money in the Treasury, not otherwise appropriated," to build "a county jail, for the city and county of Alexandria, to be erected and finished on a plan approved by the President of the United States." Both these enactments were carried into execution, but how are these prisons used? "From a statement, furnished by a keeper of the jail in Washington, it appears that, in five years, upwards of *four hundred and fifty* colored persons were committed to the National prison in that one city, for *safe keeping*; that is, until they could be disposed of in the course of the slave trade;—besides nearly *three hundred* who had been taken up as *Runaways*."

Rev. Mr. Phelps of Boston, visited this prison in April last, and makes the following statement.

There are in the prison 16 solitary cells on the lower floor, the debtors and criminals' rooms being above. These cells are mostly used for the confinement of slaves lodged there by the master as a punishment for some fault; of slaves "suing for their freedom," as they termed it; and of colored persons, bond or free, arrested on suspicion of being Runaways. As we passed from cell to cell, and, looking through a small aperture cut in the massy door, asked one and another, "Well my boy, or my girl, what are you here for?" and heard one reply "For my freedom, Sir," and another "for my freedom, Sir," and another still, from almost every cell: it was enough to crimson one's cheek with shame for his country. We found no less than *thirteen* individuals in the prison at this time, every one of whom claimed that they were entitled to their freedom. Among them was one Robert Thomas, who had his free paper with him, but had just been declared a slave by the District Court, on the ground that the Master had first sold the slave to him, and afterwards in a drunken frolic, given him his freedom. His counsel had appealed to the Supreme Court.

In another cell, we found a Fanny Jackson, with her three little children, one of them an infant at her breast, her husband who was also in the prison, being in a separate cell. They were all formerly owned, and were then claimed by one Asa Buckener of Loudon co. Va., but having been in Washington, unclaimed by their master, and supporting themselves for six or seven years, they were suing for their freedom under an act by which they were entitled to it. They had lain in prison awaiting their trial from the first of the preceding August—a *period of nine months*. We spoke to the mother—but I will not trust myself to describe the scene—enough that she evinced the mother and the wife.

Rachel Turner was the occupant of another cell. She was young—had been owned for a limited period by Lewis Bromley of Baltimore, and was to have been free in a year. Mrs. Bromley (her husband being dead) sold her to an individual for the time specified, who either changed his name, or sold her as a slave for life to one Augt. de Vanteuil who took her to Washington and lodged her in the jail for safe keeping till he should call for her, since which time nothing had been heard from him. Meanwhile the girl had lain in the prison more than six months, and the time was just at hand when, as the keeper informed me, she would be sold for her jail fees as a slave for life. A mere trick, no doubt, to take advantage of the law, to make her a slave for life.

On returning from the prison, the lady who accompanied me, (for it was a lady, and one who had often aided the poor outcasts) stated that her atten-

tion was first called to the subject by the following incident. Some seven years since, a poor colored man came to her door, walking on his knees; for he had lost his legs to the knee, and his arms to the elbow. She enquired how it happened. He replied that he had been put in prison on suspicion of being a runaway, although he was free, and the winter was so severe, and his accommodations so bad—having scarcely a blanket to throw over him—that his limbs were frozen and it became necessary to take them off in order to save his life!

These facts need no comment, and yet this prison was built and repaired in part by the people of New-Hampshire. Are they aware that their money—the fruit of their hard earnings, is paid out for such purposes as these? that prisons, built and repaired by funds from the public treasury, are thus “perverted from the purposes for which they were erected” to the horrid purpose of carrying on a traffic in the bones and sinews, the souls and bodies of human beings?

In the prosecution of this traffic, *the most heart-rending separations are constantly occurring.* Friends are separated from friends—husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, sisters,—all rudely and forever torn asunder. A most affecting instance of the kind has just been given to the public by Mr. Heth F. Camp of Washington, whose statements are vouched for by Rev. R. Post, pastor of the 1st Presbyterian church. It is the case of Cecilia Thomas, ‘about forty years old’—‘possesses,’ says Mr. C. “a most excellent disposition, more than ordinary mental capacity, is honest, pious, and industrious”—“is a woman of great sensibility, and her feelings with regard to her situation can be better imagined than described—bereft of all her children, except the last (they having been sold before,) expecting soon to be separated from that and her husband forever, to be sold to go, she knows not where, and endure hardships and miseries she knows not how severe.”—“She is greatly to be pitied. Although she is perfectly submissive to her master, out of duty to her God, yet her constant groans and sighs are enough to melt a heart of stone.” This, let it be remembered is but a specimen.

Again, *persons having but a limited time to serve, are bought by the slave dealers, and sent where redress is hopeless.* Mr. Phelps states the following case, and in the words of a gentleman in Washington, knowing to the facts. Barbara, a colored woman, by the will of her master, was to be free at the age of 28,—was sold to a man by the name of Danford, at the Navy Yard, Washington City; by him sold to N. Gibbs, and by him sold to a man named Moss or Maus. She was kept until she was *thirty-eight* instead of 23, and then by the terms of sale to all these persons, was to be free in 1833; but instead of freedom, she was sold to the traders, sent South, and *now is in a state of bondage for life!* When her last master (Maus) first attempted to sell her to the negro traders, he gave her a letter informing her that he wished to hire her out by the month. She, not being able to read, showed the letter, to find out where the man lived, that her master had hired her to; and was informed that he was a negro trader. She then ran off, and when taken in by some friends in Washington her back was so cut and mangled by whipping, she was entirely unable to work. Her linen was sticking to the sores on her back so that it could not be got off. “The above,” adds the gentleman in reference to this and another similar case, “are but trifles compared with what takes place every week more or less.”

Free persons of color, coming into the District are liable to arrest, imprisonment, and to be sold into slavery for life, for their jail fees, if unable, from ignorance, misfortune or fraud to prove their freedom—an act, it should be re-

membered, which not only dooms them, but the unborn generations of their posterity also—otherwise a free posterity, to hopeless and interminable bondage. And yet the government, of free, republican and christian America it is, that gives, by its laws, peculiar facilities to this practice—nay, that makes express provision for its encouragement.

In May, 1827, for instance, it was “enacted by the Board of Aldermen and Board of Common Council of the City of Washington,” among other scandalous and oppressive enactments, “that every free negro or mulatto, whether male or female, who may come to the City of Washington to reside, shall, within thirty days thereafter, exhibit to the Mayor satisfactory evidence of his or her title to freedom, to be recorded, &c. and shall enter into bond to the Mayor &c. with *two freehold* surities, in the penalty of FIVE HUNDRED dollars, conditioned for his or her (and every member of his or her existing family) good and orderly conduct, and that they or either of them, do not become chargeable to this Corporation for the space of twelve months from the date of such bond, to be renewed *every year* FOR THREE YEARS; and on failure to comply &c. to depart the city or be committed to the work-house &c. not exceeding *twelve months (!)* in *any ONE (!)* commitment.—And any free person or persons of color, so imprisoned &c. may, by order of the Mayor, be discharged &c. upon his or her being able to satisfy the Mayor, that he or she will, with his or her family and dependents, forthwith depart the City. But if he or she shall fail to depart the city &c. or departing, shall return to, and be found within the same, at any time within twelve months thereafter, he or she shall be again committed, as if no such discharge had taken place.”

“And be it enacted, that every negro or mulatto found residing in the City of Washington, after the passage of this act, who shall not be able to establish his or her title to freedom (except such as may be hired &c.) shall be committed to the jail of the County of Washington, *as absconding slaves!*” [City Laws, p. 193.]

Such is the law. Color is thus, made a crime, which in the first instance to all practical purposes, disfranchises the free, and in the second, is prima facie evidence of a slave; and then, to crown all, a large posse of constables and other officers, some of whom are in the pay of government, are, not only permitted, and, by certain perquisites of office, encouraged, to take advantage of this law for the oppression of the free man of color, but “charged” with its execution, and “on conviction of failure” must “forfeit and pay for each and every such neglect or failure, a fine not exceeding twenty dollars.”

The result is that free persons are thus arrested, and then sold for their jail fees as slaves for life, as the following facts, stated by Judge Jay, abundantly show.

“On the 1st August, 1826, a notice appeared in the National Intelligencer at Washington, from the Marshal of the D. of C., that a negro named Gilbert Horton, and claiming to be free, had been committed to jail in Washington city as a *runaway*, and unless his owner proved property, and took him away by a certain time, the negro would be sold “*for his jail fees and other expenses, as the law directs.*” Horton was a native of Westchester Co., N. Y., and known there to be free. A public meeting of the inhabitants of the county was called, to take measures for his liberation. The meeting was held 30th August, 1826, and a series of resolutions were unanimously adopted; one of them calling on the Governor to demand the instant liberation of Horton as a *free citizen* of the State of New-York.”

The Governor accordingly wrote to the President, forwarding evidence

of his freedom, and claiming his liberation. Horton was released before the receipt of the letter.

"In Dec. 1826, Mr. Ward, representative in Congress from Westchester, introduced a resolution calling on the committee for the D. of C. to inquire whether there was any law in the District authorizing the imprisonment of a free person of color, and his sale as an unclaimed slave for his *jail fees*. The resolution was adopted after much opposition by the Southern members. The committee reported that there *was such a law*, vindicated its general policy, but recommended that when the arrested negro was unclaimed he should not be sold, but that the *county* should pay the cost of his imprisonment. The people of Georgetown presented a *remonstrance* against this proposition of the committee. The law remained unchanged, and so remains to this day."

"On the 27th March, 1827, a petition was presented to Congress from 1,000 citizens of the D. of C., praying for a revival of the slave laws, and an act declaring that all children of slaves to be born in the District after the 4th July, 1828, should be free at the age of 25, and that the importation of slaves into the District might be prohibited. From this petition, the following is an extract: viz.

"A colored man last summer, who stated that he was entitled to freedom, was taken up as a runaway slave and lodged within the jail of Washington city. He was advertised, but no one appearing to claim him, he *was according to law* put up at public auction for *payment of his jail fees, and sold as a slave for life!* He was purchased by a slave trader, who was not required to give security for his remaining in the District, and he was soon after shipped from Alexandria for one of the Southern States. Thus was a human being sold into perpetual bondage, at the capital of the freest government on earth, without even the pretence of a trial, or the allegation of a crime."

And still more recently, in the "Globe" of the 18th of July last, we find the following

"NOTICE,

Was committed to the prison of Washington Co. D.C., on the 19th day of May, 1834, as a runaway, a Negro man who calls himself DAVID PECK. He is 5 feet 8 inches high. Had on, when committed, a check shirt, linen pantaloons, and straw hat. *He says he is free*, and belongs to Baltimore.—He is a bright mulatto, stout, and well made, and about 22 or 23 years of age. The owner or owners of the above described Negro man, are hereby requested to come forward, prove him, and take him away, *or he will be sold* for his prison and other expenses, as the law directs.

JAMES WILLIAMS,

Keeper of the Prison of Washington County, District of Columbia,

June 7—8.

For ALEX. HUNTER, M. D. C."

Thus probably has a free citizen, of free America, been sold, as a slave, into hopeless and irredeemable bondage "to pay the United States for the expense of having suspected him." And then the cruel mockery of advertising for the "owner or owners" of a man, who "says he is free," and therefore has no owner save himself!

Again, under the preceding laws, "*others are kidnapped and hurried away before they can be rescued.*" The modes in which this is done are various. Sometimes they are seized by violence, their free papers taken from them and destroyed. Dr. Torrey, of Philadelphia, in his "Portraiture of Domestic Slavery in the United States," published in 1817, states the following facts.

"The others whom I found in the same garret, (*fleeing* the garret where

the poor woman with broken limbs was lying,) and at the same time, were a young black widow woman, with an infant at the breast, both of whom were born free. Her husband had died a few days previous to her seizure, and she was in a state of pregnancy at the time. She stated that the man in whose house she resided, together with his brother, and three other persons, (two of whom she said then stood indicted for having seized and carried her off at a former time,) came into the room, (a kitchen) where she was in bed, seized and dragged her out, fastened a noose round her neck to prevent her from screaming, and attempted to blindfold her, which she resisted with such violence that she prevented them from succeeding. She said, while one of them was endeavoring to fix the bandage over her eyes, that she seized his cheek with her teeth, and tore a piece of it entirely off. She said one of them struck her head several times with a stick of wood, from the wounds of which she was almost entirely covered with blood. She showed me a large scar upon her forehead, occasioned by one of the blows, which a gentleman, who saw her the day previous to the seizure, has since informed me was not there before. She said, while she was struggling against them, and screaming, the man in whose house she lived, bawled out, "Choak the ———; don't let her halloo; she'll scare my wife!" Having conquered her by superior force, she said they placed her with the child in the chaise, and refusing to dress herself, three of them leaving the two who belonged to the house, carried her off in the condition that she was dragged from the bed, to a certain tavern in Maryland, and sold them both to the mandealer, who brought them to the city of Washington. She stated that one of her captors drove the carriage and held the rope which was fixed to her neck, and that one rode on each side, on horseback; that while one of them was negotiating a bargain with her purchaser, he asked her who her master was, and replying that she had none, her seller beckoned to him to go into another room, where the business was adjusted without troubling her with any farther inquiries. She stated that her purchaser confessed, while on the way to Annapolis, that he believed she might have had some claim to freedom, and intimated that he would have taken her back, if the man of whom he bought her had not run away; but requested her, notwithstanding, to say nothing to any body about her being free, which she refused to comply with. She affirmed that he offered her for sale to several persons, *who refused to purchase her, on account of her asserting that she was free.* She stated that her purchaser had left her in Washington for a few weeks, and gone to the eastern shore, in search of more black people, in order to make up a drove for Georgia."

"A mulatto youth had been purchased in the city of Washington, and kept in it in irons several weeks by a person who confessed his regret, that he had not removed him before the suit for the recovery of his freedom had commenced; and that, if he had known it sooner, he would have taken him out to ———, (the place of his residence,) even if he had been satisfied of his being free. One slave trader to whom he had been offered, was however so conscientious, that he refused to purchase him or the lad who was with him, (before mentioned,) being confident that they were illegally enslaved."

"I have been assured by a gentleman of the highest respectability, that a former representative to Congress, from one of the Southern States, acknowledged to him that he held a mulatto man as a slave, having purchased him in company with slaves, who affirmed that he was free born, and had been kidnapped from one of the New-England States, who was well educated, and who, he had no doubt, was born as free a man as himself or my

informant. Upon being asked how he could bear then to retain him, he replied that the customs of his part of the country were such, that these things are not minded much."

"Mr. Cooper, one of the representatives to Congress from Delaware, assured me that he had often been afraid to send one of his servants out of his house in the evening, from the danger of their being seized by kidnappers."

Sometimes, says a gentleman in Washington, a free colored girl, for instance, is hired by some ruffian to go on an errand to some cellar grocery, and there seized and immediately sent to the South as a slave.

Sometimes, says Rev. Mr. Phelps, on the authority of the above gentleman, they are accused of some crime, as for instance, theft, and measures are taken after their arrest to destroy their free papers, and so hurry them off into slavery at once, or secure their public sale as runaways. Mr. Phelps states the following in illustration.

"One Benedict Herbert, now about fifty years of age, was sometime since taken up by the constables, (for they, so my informant assured me, are sometimes accomplices in these horrid acts,) on the charge of theft.—He was a free man, and insisted that he was innocent. It was about twilight when they seized him, he denying and they affirming that he was guilty, and must go with them. He went. In the mean time, they sent a colored man, who was in the secret, to his house, to say to the woman who kept it, that he had been seized as a runaway, and to ask for his free papers under the pretence that he wanted them to get Herbert set at liberty. The woman was on the point of giving them up, but just at that moment suspecting that all was not right, she refused. Herbert, meanwhile was taken by the constables and lodged in the garret of a house then occupied by Mr. Robey, which garret was used as a prison for carrying on the slave-trade. During the night he tore up his blanket and making it into a rope, let himself out of the window on to a shed, and so escaped, though at the expense of a lamed and almost dislocated ankle. Otherwise, it is not all improbable that other methods would have been taken to get possession of and destroy his free papers, and he have been carried into hopeless bondage."

Sometimes again, some wretch will effect his object by resorting to perjury, as in the following case, stated at the New-England Convention in May last, by Mr. Abner Forbes of Boston, and as occurring within his own knowledge.

"A drunkard and spendthrift, named Laskey, having dissipated his money, took this method to replenish his pockets. He procured a newspaper, (no difficult task) containing an advertisement of a runaway slave, and presented himself before a judge of the United States Court in the District, and made oath that a certain *free* colored man, residing there, was the slave intended by the advertisement. The accused was brought before the judge, and upon the testimony of this miscreant and an accomplice, he was adjudged a slave, and was carried South in spite of the zealous exertions of Mr. F."

False sales are sometimes effected, and colored men seized on the strength of them. Mr. Phelps, on the authority and in the words of the aforesaid gentleman at Washington, states the following.

"Lydia Curtis, wife of William Curtis—a free woman—was kept by Nathan Kerns as a slave till he died—says she was free all that time. Her free papers were in the hands of Judge Hooper, Seelia Tucker or Jacob Sylvester of Centreville, Md. She was sold by Nicholas Hobbs and Turban Slaughter to ——— Simpson, a negro trader, who brought her to Wash-

ington and kept her some days in a garret at Wm. Robey's tavern, where she was unmercifully whipt, because she tried to see some white people to whom she could make her case known. She was taken to the South with a drove of other blacks, among whom were many in a similar situation.—She left a daughter at or near Centreville, in Md., named *Anna Maria*.”—Mothers and daughters of New-Hampshire, can you resist the appeal of such facts?

As the result of all this wrong and outrage, “*instances of maiming and suicide, executed or attempted,*” and even “*instances of death, from the anguish and despair, exhibited in the District, mark the cruelty of this traffic.*” Dr. Torrey relates the following instances.

“A youth having learned the subject on which I was occupied, and being prompt to communicate whatever he might meet with relative to it, informed me, on returning from school on the evening of the 18th of December, 1815, that a black woman destined for transportation to Georgia, with a coffin about to start, attempted to escape, by jumping out of the window of a garret of a three story brick tavern in F. street about day break in the morning, and that in the fall, she had her back and both arms broken. I remarked that I did not wonder; and inquired whether it had not killed her? To which he replied, that he understood she was dead, and that the *Georgia-men* had gone off with the others. The relation of this shocking disaster excited considerable agitation in my mind, and fully confirmed the sentiments which I had already adopted and recorded, of the multiplied horrors *added* to slavery, when its victims are bought and sold, frequently for distant destinations, with as much indifference as four-footed beasts. Supposing this to be a recent occurrence, and being desirous to see the mangled slave before she was buried, I proceeded with haste early on the following morning in search of the house. Calling at one near where the catastrophe occurred, I was informed that it had been three weeks since it took place, and that the woman was still living. I found the house, and having obtained permission of the landlord to see her, I was conducted by a lad to her room. On entering the room, I observed her lying upon a bed on the floor, and covered with a white woollen blanket, on which were several spots of blood, which I perceived was *red*, notwithstanding the *opacity* of her skin. Her countenance, though very pale from the shock she had received, appeared complacent and sympathetic. Both arms were broken between the elbows and wrists, and had undoubtedly been well set and dressed, but from her restlessless, she had displaced the bones so that they were perceptibly crooked. I have since been informed by the mayor of the city, who is a physician, and resides not far distant from the place, that he was called to visit her immediately after her fall; and found, besides her arms being broken, that the lower part of her spine was badly shattered, so that it was very doubtful whether she would ever be capable of walking again, if she should survive. The lady of the mayor said she was awakened from sleep by the fall of the woman, and heard her heavy struggling groans. I inquired of her, whether she was asleep when she sprang from the window? She replied, “*No: no more than I am now.*” I asked her what was the cause of her doing such a frantic act. She answered, “*They brought me away with two of my children, and would not let me see my husband—They didn't sell my husband, and I didn't want to go; I was so confused and distracted, that I didn't know hardly what I was about—but I didn't want to go, and I jumped out of the window;—but I am sorry now that I did it—They have carried my children off with them to Carolina.*”

I was informed that the slave trader who had purchased her near Bla-

densburgh, gave her to the landlord as a compensation for taking care of her. Thus her family was dispersed from north to south, and herself nearly torn in pieces, without a shadow of hope of ever seeing or hearing from her children again. 'He that can behold this poor woman, (as a respectable citizen of Washington afterwards remarked,) and listen to her *unvarnished* story without a humid eye, possesses a stouter heart than I do.'

Mr. Phelps states that this woman is still alive, and goes in Washington by the name of Aunt Anne. Her name is Ann Williams. Her wrist is still deformed—the bone of the arm jutting out so as to make the wrist crooked. She was left at Miller's, the man that kept the tavern, was taken home by her mother, who being a favorite slave of her mistress was permitted to do so, and nursed until she recovered. She afterwards became the mother of two children. Miller, allured by the children, then for the first time, claimed her, and with her, the children, saying that the trader sold her, when maimed, to him for five dollars. His claim however was not allowed.

"I have been informed by several persons in the District of Columbia, that a woman who had been sold in Georgetown, *cut her own throat* ineffectually, while on her way in a hack to the same depository; and that on the road to Alexandria, she completed her purpose by cutting it again mortally."

"A statement was published in the Baltimore Telegraph a few months ago, that a female slave who had been sold in Maryland, with her child, on her way from Bladensburgh to Washington, heroically cut the throats of both her child and herself, with mortal effect. This narrative has been since confirmed by a relative of the person who sold them."

The Rev. John Frost of Whitesboro', N. Y. was informed the present year "by a Methodist clergyman in Georgetown in the District of Columbia of the case of a husband, who, upon his wife being sold and carried to the south, pined away, and in a few weeks died of a broken heart.

The case of another husband in Washington, in the same District of Columbia, was narrated to the same gentleman, by a member of a church in that city. Upon the sale and departure of his wife, he became, from an industrious and sober man, a drunkard, and in a short time crazy, and remains so."

Mr. Phelps also, was informed by the gentleman before mentioned, that within a year a Georgia trader gave chase to a colored woman on the bridge across the Potomac. Whether she was a slave attempting her escape, or one "bought upon the run," or a free woman is not remembered. Nor is it material to know. The design was to seize her as a slave, and she so understood it. Accordingly, finding her self closely pursued, she leaped from the bridge into the river and was drowned.

The slaves thus obtained and collected together, *are then shipped to some Southern port, or driven over land, manacled together in gangs of 20, 30, 60 or more.* In 1816, for instance, Judge Morrel, in delivering a charge to the grand jury in Washington, at the January session of the Circuit Court, called their attention to the slave trade carried on in the District, and said, "that the frequency with which the streets of the city had been crowded with manacled captives, sometimes even on the sabbath, could not fail to shock the feelings of all humane persons; that it was repugnant to the spirit of our political institutions and the rights of man, and he believed was calculated to impair the public morals, by familiarizing scenes of cruelty to the minds of youth." And yet up to the present moment, the laws allowing of such exhibitions, remain unchanged; and human beings, manacled, are, to this hour, driven like cattle, through the streets of Alexandria and Wash-

ington to the Southern market. It is true, and we rejoice in the belief of the fact, that such scenes have become more offensive to the inhabitants generally than in former years, and are therefore enacted less publicly, though not less really than before.

We have thus endeavored, fellow citizens, to put you in possession of well-authenticated facts, illustrative of slavery and the slave trade as they now exist in the capital of our boasted Republic. It were easy to go into a detail of facts and show that a state of things, in many respects, similar to this, exist in the territories of Florida and Arkansas. And yet, (we blush for our country to say it) these things are done with the consent,—yea sanction of the Federal Government. Congress has been importuned, again and again, on the subject, and yet refuse to take any effectual action. For many years, scarce a session has passed without some petitions for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District. Many of the inhabitants of the District are themselves in favor of such a measure. In March, 1827, as we have seen, a petition, signed by 1000 of them, was presented to Congress, praying for some action on the subject. At the last session, numerous petitions on the subject were sent from New-England—one of which contained upwards of 2000 names. *But what has Congress done?* NOTHING—AYE WORSE THAN NOTHING. It has uniformly disregarded those petitions, or treated them with contempt, or turned them over into the hands of the Committee on the District—a proceeding understood by all to be equivalent to their rejection. Nor is this all. Congress has at different times, and in various ways, given express sanction to these abominations.—In 1826, when Mr. Ward of Westchester, N. Y. offered his resolution, instituting an inquiry in regard to the existence of a law under which a free man of color was liable to arrest, imprisonment and to be sold for his jail fees as a slave for life, the resolution was met by a report vindicating the general policy of the law, and the law was left, by Congress, unchanged, and so remains to this hour! And during the very last session of that body,—when probably more petitions on the subject were presented than at any former session—a bill was brought forward in the House of Representatives, by the Committee on the District—the very committee to whom the petitions were referred—giving the right to Edmund Brook, a resident of the District, to bring into it two slaves as his property. On the 12th of June, it came up for decision, and Mr. J. Q. Adams moved its postponement till the next session of Congress, stating that he was opposed to the bill, and considered, that should it pass, it would give the direct sanction of Congress to the continuation of slavery in the District. The bill, after some little discussion, was passed by a vote of 106 to 47—numbers voting on neither side; and thus the House of Representatives did, in the year 1834, give its direct sanction to the introduction and existence of slavery in the District of Columbia! And to this hour, “OFFICERS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN EMPLOYED, AND DERIVE EMOLUMENT FROM CARRYING ON THE DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE!”

And now, fellow citizens, if you have followed us in all these shameful and heart-rending details, we believe you are ready to say with one accord, SOMETHING MUST BE DONE. We owe it to ourselves. To love liberty and prize it; as we justly do, above all price, and yet love and prize it *only* for ourselves, is inconsistent, ungenerous, selfish, wicked. Tyrants love liberty for themselves.

SOMETHING MUST BE DONE.

Slavery is a canker worm to the prosperity and permanency of our free institutions. It has also ever been the apple of discord among us—dividing

the counsels of the nation—arraying interest against interest and section against section, and more than once, urging us] to to the brink of dissolution. Such it will ever be, so long as it exists. Already has it woven itself into the texture and fabric of society throughout the land, and its pestiferous influence is felt and seen in corrupting the integrity and paralyzing the moral energies of the legislative assembly, the pulpit and the press. And then it is, from first to last, a system of the most high handed robbery and oppression, and the oath of God is pledged that “the robbery of the wicked shall destroy them.” In the language of one of our most illustrious statesmen, “the Almighty has no attribute which could take sides with us,” in a contest to uphold such a system of oppression.

SOMETHING MUST BE DONE.

The influence of our example on the world is fast ceasing to be salutary. Our glaring inconsistencies are beginning to stand out in bold relief, nullifying our influence, disheartening the friends of freedom, causing despots to exult rather than tremble—and making us, the scorn and derision, rather than the boast of the earth.

SOMETHING MUST BE DONE.

Enslaved millions in the States, point us to more than 26,000 fellow slaves in those sections of the country over which we, by our representatives, exercise exclusive control, and they tell us, that in allowing slavery there, we adopt and sanction a system, (and so become answerable for its results,) which in the States, fastens the yoke of an unmitigated thralldom on them and the unborn generations of their posterity, and, with lacerated bodies, and outstretched hands and weeping eyes and imploring voices, they entreat us—“Come, come to the rescue of our brethren. Strike, and the blow that rescues them, shall, in its onward influence, rescue us.”

SOMETHING MUST BE DONE.

Justice, patriotism, humanity, merey, religion, all demand that something be done. A common nature, outraged and dishonored, in the person of every wronged slave, cries out for a redress of its wrongs—an immediate termination of its oppressions. And when nature cries shall not nature hear? She will. We greatly err, if, among the sons and daughters of New-Hampshire, nature’s cry does not meet with nature’s response. Thousands of throbbing hearts will utter it.

Ask you then what shall be done? We answer,

1. Possess yourselves of the facts in the case.
2. Ponder them till you feel them, and find within you a deep, stirring irrepressible sympathy for the enslaved.
3. Recite the tale of woe in the ear of your children, family, friends and neighbors, to enkindle a similar feeling in them.
4. Get, and ever retain, a clear, well defined and full conviction of the *high criminality* of slave holding and the slave trade, particularly as they now exist and are tolerated, *by the nation*, in the District of Columbia and the Territories. Set it down, as a first truth, never to be forgotten, that there is no difference in principle between these and the Foreign Slave trade; and from this doctrine and its legitimate inferences, let nothing ever beguile you. Act on it evermore.
5. Exert yourselves to the utmost for the immediate abolition of Slavery and the Slave trade in the District and Territories. To this end, we call your attention to the *specific measure* of signing and circulating the accompanying petition. Let each individual give his or her name to it first, and then get others to give theirs. Let there be no hesitation, no delay: but let the petitions be circulated, signed and returned to the proper places at once. What we

do this season must be done quickly. With "Immediate" for our motto, let every one "remember them that are in bonds as bound with them," and give his or her name to the petition. It is what we would wish the poor slave to do were we the slave. It can do no harm: it is believed that it will do great good. At least, we shall have the consciousness of having attempted duty. The experiment is worth trying. It has never yet been fully tried. Let the sons and daughters of this State, uniting with those of other States, speak out for the slave, and sooner or later, their voice will be heard.

JOHN FARMER,
GEORGE KENT,
RUFUS A. PUTNAM.

Concord, N. H. 28 Nov. 1834.

 See Note at the end. The Petition referred to at the close of the Address, will be found on the last leaf.

A P P E N D I X .

Letters were received from several gentlemen from which are made extracts as follows.

The first is from J. G. Whittier, dated Haverhill, Ms. 10th mo. 11th day 1834, from which is the following short extract:

"I can now only say that I am exceedingly sorry that circumstances put it out of my power to be with you. From the tenor of your public notice I anticipate an interesting discussion of the great principles which are involved in this agitating controversy. God prosper the right! That the convention which assembles to-morrow may do much to accelerate the coming triumph of truth over prejudice, and Christian love over wrong and hatred is the earnest desire of thy friend."

Letter from Rev. O. S. Murray, dated Orwell, Vt. Nov. 1. 1834.

To the Committee who have called an anti-slavery meeting, to be held at Concord, N. H. Tuesday, November 11, 1834.

Dear Sirs—I received your circular three days ago, and highly approve of your movement. Such a convention, acting on such principles as your circular indicates, cannot fail to advance the cause which is nearest my heart. It would afford me great pleasure to be with you and afford you my poor help.

Brethren in the cause of human rights—You have raised a good standard to a very proper height. I behold your flag nailed to it, unfurled in the breezes of heaven. Rally around it, and preserve it from false friends. You have nothing to fear from open enemies; they shall "go backward and fall to the ground" before you. There is a great multitude of haters of slavery in the "abstract," who are rendering incalculable support to practical slavery. These are they who have so great love for colored men in Africa, but will not lift one of their fingers to assist that abused people at home in the United States. And what is this slavery in the abstract? In other words—for their is no such thing as abstract slavery—What do they mean, when they tell us they hate the principle which, carried out, would tend to the enslaving of them, their friends, and the white population generally, if the colored people should ever obtain the power? For a white man to be enslaved, would be a "hard case" indeed—and especially that the body and soul-destroying monster Slavery could in any case get his fangs on them or their friends, would be horrifying to the last degree—"but"—the Lord set a mark upon Cain—Canaan and his descendants were to be servants—the Africans enslaved each other, and it is much better that they should be enslaved by *Christians*—the slaves of the south go whistling and singing to their tasks, and are immeasurably better off than the free men of color—freedom is not less ruinous to a colored man than slavery to a white! Their argument need not be pursued; you have heard it; you understand it; you know how to confute it. Had the Patient Man lived in our day, and been a man of common sensibility and logical accumen, a lover of justice and impartial liberty; after his patience had endured the absurdity and sophistry he would meet at every step and a sight of the wretched subterfuges under which American slavery and its apologists hide, and the miserable attenuated fibres on which the rights of millions are suspended before our eyes, for the adversary to have tried him with the boils, would have been quite ludicrous, and quite supererogatory.

We are told that an immediate abandonment of the atrocious sin of slavery, which the sentiment of your circular very justly required, would be an irreparable injury to the slaves. What! Would it injure them to immediately cease breaking up families, sundering the strongest ties of consanguinity and affection—to extend to them the protection of the law—to heal their wounds—to restore what is justly their due—to reward them in future for their toils—to put a Lamp of life in their hands to guide them through the dark valley of the shadow of death—in a word to let the great law of love govern our conduct towards them? Would this ruin the slaves? Reason answers, No. Experience answers, No. Conscience answers, No. Well—this is all we ask—this is immediate abolition in the best sense of the phrase, as abolitionists have always used it. Only ignorance or malignity can give it any other construction.

My Brethren, you know what, next to avarice, is the greatest obstacle to our enterprise. You know who they are that "stand in the gap" to keep us off from the slaveholder. You know who have always been ready to "pass rensure upon abolition societies." You have heard the slander and the flattery. Now you have been called "fanatics and incendiaries." Then you have been very courteously invited to co-operate in the work of prejudice and persecution. You have detected the fraud. You have discovered the delusion. There is no need of my dwelling on this point. The line is being drawn. We shall soon know who have supported the American Colonization Society with benevolent objects in view, and who have been laboring to expatriate a large class of our fellow countrymen.—The former are fast joining our ranks—the latter will continue to support the true doctrine of the scheme, slavery or exile.

That the spirit of liberty and love may be with you—the spirit of genuine philanthropy warm and

expand your hearts—the Spirit of God watch over you and preserve you from all outward foes—the “Wisdom that is from above, which is *first* pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy,” direct all your energies to the overthrowing of Satan’s strongest hold in the United States, is the fervent prayer of your constant co-worker,
ORSON S. MURRAY.

Letter of the Rev. James T. Woodbury, dated Acton, Oct. 30, 1834.

John Farmer, Esq.:—Dear Sir—Your letter of recent date inviting me to attend an Anti-Slavery Convention with you next month is received. And in reply permit me to say, that I shall afford myself the pleasure of being present, if consistent with other duties.

I thank God that I have lived to witness this movement in the granite State in favor of the oppressed. I think I know something of the genius of the people of New-Hampshire. They have a very keen, quick sense of wrong, and only spread out before them the bloody facts, tell them the tale of woe, and lay down distinctly the pacific principles on which we propose to act, and the honest hearted yeomanry on all her hills will start up a noble host in this cause. My life on it they love liberty, and when they know what slavery is, not merely in the abstract, but in practice, in the detail, they will not shrink from the moral conflict. They will come up to the help like men, like freemen, like Christians. They may be blinded and so misjudge, and feel, and act wrong, but if the next 4th of July there could be driven into your beautiful village of Concord 100 slaves, and after due notice put up one by one on the platform, and struck off to the highest bidder like so many brutes, and this sale be advertised in all the papers, political and religious, in the state, six months beforehand, and take place in broad daylight, somewhere near the state house yard, and I would stand responsible for the state of feeling in New-Hampshire. The apologists for slavery might say what they would, every man, woman and child would cry out with a loud voice, and with one accord, and say, It is an accursed thing, which all good men must hate, which no decent man can countenance for a moment—and if human laws, or human constitutions say it is right, those laws and that constitution are written in blood, and must be repealed forthwith.

I am an abolitionist. I feel that more than 2,000,000 of my fellow beings, and most of them my countrymen, native born Americans, are robbed of their rights. I know they are solemnly adjudged to be “chattels in the hands of their owners and possessors, and their executors, administrators and assignees to all intents, constructions and purposes whatever.” And I cannot close my eyes, and shut my mouth, and hold my peace, or cry, “All is well,” “All is right.” “The laws and the constitution say so.” No, no. Human legislation can never amend the law of God. God says, “Thou shalt not steal,” and will the commentator say it is a crime for you to steal my horse, and I can claim him where I can find him, but no crime to steal my child, “bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh.” I am an abolitionist, because I know that of all these millions in bondage, every individual of them, or their mothers, was stolen. Some ruffian hand, roused by the spirit of the devil, found them free as air, and as our children are, and laid hold upon them and chained them, and brought them to the bloody slave dealer, and he brings them to the bloody slave owner, or slave consumer. I have been looking at the slave catcher, and the slave dealer, and wondering why a just God could let them live; wondering why the earth they tread did not open and swallow them up; but now I see they are not at the bottom of the business. Aye, the slave owner, he who buys the man to work him, to use him up; he sustains the whole. The one is the twig, or the leaf, the other is the sap and the root. When man can feel it to be, not merely a shame, an outrage, but a terrific crime to claim, under any circumstances, his fellow man as his property, his chattel, a thing to be made merchandise of—then the dark slave ship will be seen no longer hovering on the coast of Africa—or going down with its cargo of living human flesh to Natchez, or New Orleans.

And cannot public opinion do in the United States what it has done in France and England, and in the republic of Colombia, and in the empire of Mexico?

I have seen the day when I gloried in the fact that I was an American citizen—that I lived under a government the first principles of which declares that “all men are born free and equal,” that liberty is every man’s birth-right. But while more than 200 persons continue to be born here every single day, whom, with their mothers, their masters claim as property, and sell at the post, to whom they will not give the knowledge of their rights, nor suffer others so to do—from whom they withhold the word of God!—I will say no more. Oh when will this whole nation open their eyes to the truth! When will they see the hypocrisy and mockery of all our boasts about freedom and equal rights, while every sixth man in this whole nation is held as a brute? We ring our bells, we fire our cannon, we write ourselves a free people; but when shall we cease to hear, far above all this din of folly and nonsense, the clank of the chains of more than 2,000,000 in bondage? Let the question be with all men. What is right? not, What is expedient? While there is a just God and a judgment, it can never be expedient to rob men of their rights, no, not for an hour. It is a crime, and men may as well say, though lying and murder be wrong, still under certain circumstances it is expedient to lie and murder. But I have already written too much, yet it poorly expresses what I feel, and I will close by saying, “Do right,” let the consequences be what they may—“Do right,” if the heavens and the earth come together.

Yours, in the best of causes, the cause of 2,000,000 of men in bondage.

JAMES T. WOODBURY.

Letter from Wm. L. Garrison, dated Boston, Nov. 10, 1834.

JOHN FARMER, Esq.—Dear Sir—I regret that engagements and duties in this city prevent my compliance with the kind invitation which you have officially conveyed to me, to be present at your Anti-Slavery Convention.

To say that I am with you in all holy efforts to arrest the progress of despotism, and to accelerate the march of equal, impartial and righteous liberty throughout the world, is but the feeblest evidence of my zeal and sincerity. I have not been satisfied with the mere utterance of the feelings of my heart, in view of the deplorable situation of a large portion of my countrymen; but I have been abundant in labors for their deliverance from an iron bondage—nor have I labored in vain. Four years ago, when I commenced the *Liberator*, I knew not a single individual in this section of the country, who fully coincided with me in opinion, respecting the safety and duty of immediate emancipation, and the injustice and inaptitude of the African colonization scheme. Since that period the change has been wonderful—perhaps beyond a parallel in the history of moral reform. The praise belongs to God who by his Spirit and truth, has reached the consciences and enlightened the understandings of men.

I am persuaded that the sacred cause of abolition will ultimately run well in New-Hampshire. At first your purposes will be misunderstood, and your measures calumniated. Base men will endeavor to poison the minds of the people against your society. You will be caricatured and made hideous. For a time craft will take you in its toils, and falsehood cover you with infamy, and violence obstruct your benevolent career; but truth and justice will not fail to come in seasonably to your rescue, and to place crowns of victory upon your heads. It is worthy of remark, indeed, that all those charges which are falsely brought against abolitionists, are precisely such as may be justly applied to those who utter them.

First, we are accused of wishing to stir up the slaves to insurrection. But what are we doing? Are we whipping them? No. Are we defrauding them? No. Are we depriving them of knowledge? No. Are we ranking them among our goods and chattels? No. Are we selling them as cattle? No. Well, who is guilty of such atrocious conduct? Why our accusers! And are they not therefore doing all that can be done to stir up revengeful passions in the bosoms of the slaves?—We are only crying—Do not flog, do not rob, do not debase, do not kidnap, do not buy and sell these unoffending countrymen! Who then are the incendiaries? Who but our accusers?

Next, we are accused of wishing to turn the slaves loose upon the country, to plunder and ravage it with impunity. But what do we say? That they ought to be above the laws? No.—That they ought to be below the laws? No. But we say that they ought to be controlled and protected by the laws—that from standing without, they ought to be brought within the pale of the constitution. Now, they are really turned loose, having no home, and instead of preying upon others are becoming the prey of others—of our accusers.

Next, we are accused of advocating the amalgamation of the races. But we have only maintained that female virtue ought to have complete protection at the south, instead of being polluted with impunity! We say that slavery ought to be immediately abolished for it is a system of lewdness—of unrighteous and continual amalgamation. Therefore because we seek its overthrow, we are the advocates of amalgamation! Thus reason the friends and apologists of slavery—our accusers!

Next, we are accused of creating excitements and tumults. But what have we done? Have we invaded and broken up the meetings of those who differ from us in opinion? No. Have we denied the liberty of speech and of the press to our opponents? No. Have we inflamed the mobs against them? No. Have we broken their windows or burnt their property in the streets, or threatened to tar and feather them, or menaced their lives? No. Have we assaulted and defaced their temples dedicated to the worship of Almighty God? No—we have been the victims of all this ruthless treatment—unresistingly, patiently, forgivingly; and they who assert that we are the disturbers of the public peace, have themselves been guilty of all these turbulent acts—our accusers!

Next we are accused of endeavoring to wrest from the planters their property wrongfully. But what have we attempted to do? To take away their horses? No. Their cattle? No. Their gold and silver? No. Their plantations? No. But only to persuade them to give up that which they have stolen—to relinquish at once and forever their impious claim of ownership in the bodies and souls of their fellow-men. We are not justifying wrongdoing and robbery—but, *our accusers!* And so the whole catalogue of false accusations brought against abolitionists may be canvassed in this manner, with the same result in every instance. Let us not return evil for evil—but pity, forgive and pray for our accusers.

Thanks be to God, the cause in which we are enlisted is his—not ours. In the midst of prevalent darkness, his promises shine out like stars at midnight. Those promises—O blessed assurance! are certain of an exact fulfillment. Slavery will be abolished, and universal freedom enjoyed, and established throughout the earth. Still we have a duty to discharge—and that is to labor diligently, and trustingly, as humble instruments in the hands of our divine Master, looking to him alone for strength and wisdom, and guidance, and victory.

In conclusion, allow me to express the hope that as our distinguished trans-atlantic coadjutor, George Thompson, Esq. is to be with you in convention, he will be received with that cordial esteem and kind hospitality, and holy enthusiasm, which becomes those who are engaged in the best of enterprises. Welcome him to your hearts and your homes—sanction his philanthropic mission—commend him to the notice and regard of all who prize moral excellence and generous elevation of soul—and let him be heard with that candor which his cause, and eloquence so richly merit.

My prayer is, that your deliberations may be distinguished for firmness, intrepidity, zeal according

to knowledge, and love, and good will—that you may receive the blessing of God, of your country, and of those who are ready to perish.

I am, dear sir, with the highest esteem for your character,

Your friend and fellow-laborer,

WM, LLOYD GARRISON.

Letters from Messrs. Rogers and Kimball, members of the bar in Grafton County, dated
PLYMOUTH, Nov. 10, 1834.

John Farmer, Esq., Cor. Sec'y.

Dear Sir—Not thinking when I read your communication respecting the convention at Concord, that the time in contemplation could be so near, and willing to confer with my brother Kimball whom I expected to meet at the court now in session here, I delayed replying for that purpose; and brother K. who now sits at my side, says he delayed answering a like communication on the same account, and wishes me to say this to you as his apology.

This court will inevitably prevent our attendance which we greatly regret, both as we regard it as an occasion of high importance to the cause, and because we are anxious to be with you, to welcome to New-Hampshire the distinguished philanthropist expected from abroad at the convention, and to hear them plead the cause of the slave.

WHAT LAWYERS OF THE GRANITE STATE THINK OF LANE SEMINARY.

We beg leave to say that we strongly concur in the propriety, importance, and necessity of a *convention*. When steps are taken fatal to liberty, in this 'The land of liberty,' the friends of freedom ought certainly to awake to measures of counteraction.

"When seminaries of liberal learning in the 'Free States' of this asylum for the 'oppressed,' Christian seminaries, schools of religious and Protestant discussion, headed by Puritan ministers of the gospel, have become scenes of the interdiction of inquiry, and moral discussion, it is high time for those to whom the liberty of speech yet appertains to be awakened and alarmed. When the right to discuss publicly, and quietly, a great moral question; one admitted by all to touch the honor, duty, and safety of the nation; and one which despotism itself has already, in the old world, agitated and settled in favor of the cause of liberty; where this right is prohibited in the free states, and at the fountain of knowledge, it is time for New-Englanders to convene, to discuss, and resolve, in all places where the right is not yet abolished by the mob.

"We trust your convention will be earnestly if not fully attended. Some of our delegates will be there; sterling young men; Christians who are not ashamed of their Master, or of any of those for whom he died. We have requested them to try to prevail on Messrs. Garrison, and Thompson, and such of their emancipation friends as will accompany them, to extend their journey to Plymouth at this time. Court has called the county together, and affords an excellent opportunity for public impression. Thursday evening would be a favorable time. Pray urge them to come.

We remain, dear sir, cordially yours,

GEO. KIMBALL,
N. P. ROGERS."

Persons receiving this pamphlet are requested to read it, and then hand it to their neighbors to read. They are also requested to separate from it the form of Petition on the last leaf—paste it on blank paper, and present it to those in their neighborhood for signatures. After obtaining as many signatures as can be had, they are requested to forward the same, *free of expense*, to the Committee before named that the same may be forwarded to Congress during the present session, and with as much expedition as possible.

To the Honourable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled,

THE petition of the undersigned, citizens of
consider the toleration of Slavery in the District of Columbia, as inconsistent with justice, humanity, and Christianity.

Your petitioners will not dwell upon the rights of six thousand fellow men, whom the laws of the United States, retain in abject servitude, or the physical, moral, and political evils which spring directly from Slavery. But, in addition to these reasons for the interference of Congress, the Domestic Slave Trade, of which this District is the seat, is an enormous abuse which calls loudly for redress. The District of Columbia is a great market to which human flesh and blood are almost daily sent for sale, from the neighbouring States, and there sold again to supply the markets of the more remote South. Your petitioners need not call to your recollection, the cruelties which accompany this traffic, the fetters which bind the Slaves, the whips with which they are driven, the auctions at which they are sold. These are sights often before your eyes. Public and private prisons in the District are crowded with the wretched subjects of this trade. Besides this, the permission of this traffic often leads to the enslaving of free men, who are sometimes kidnapped by violence, and sometimes sold under the laws which Congress permits.

The laws in relation to people of colour, which have been passed by the city of Washington, and suffered by Congress, are inhuman and disgraceful to a civilized community.

Your petitioners, therefore, pray, that Congress will, without delay, pass a statute to abolish, immediately, Slavery in the District of Columbia; to declare every person coming into the District free; to annul all the regulations and ordinances of any municipal corporation there, which make any distinction of right between persons of different colours; and to provide for the education of all coloured children in the District.

, respectfully represents—That the

